background information

OR CHURCH AND SOCIETY

March 1960 No. 24

LIBRARY
World Council of Churches
150, route de Ferney, GENEVA

THE CHURCH AND ASIAN SOCIETY

			Page
I.	A Christian Interpretation of Nationalism in Asia	Mr. M.M. Thomas	1
II.	Agricultural Change and Hunger in Java	Dr. K.V. Bailey	9
III.	India's Food Crisis and Steps to Meet it	Dr. Raymond Dudley	12
IV.	The HUK Movement in the Philippines: Its Significance for Grass-Root Christianity	Dr. Fidel P. Galang	18
V.	Ethical Problems in the Colonial Possession of Hong Kong	Rev. R. Trueman	23
VI.	The Church and Rapid Social Change - Report from Japan	Prof. K. Shimada	25

ckground Information is published two or three times a year to promote ecumenical discussion on ial issues and is distributed by request. It is compiled by the staff of the Department on Church and ciety of the World Council of Churches, but does not necessarily represent the views of the World uncil, its departments or its staff. Background Information may be quoted only with direct permission.

EPARTMENT ON CHURCH AND SOCIETY
ivision of Studies - World Council of Churches
' route de Malagnou - Geneva - Switzerland

Notes on the contents of this issue.

Problems of Asian Society today! This topic received much attention at the First Assembly of the East Asia Christian Conference in Kuala Lumpur, Malaya, May 14-24, 1959, and we recommend to our readers the important report of Commission I of the Assembly on "The Witness of the Churches Amidst Social Change in Asia" (published in the Ecumenical Review, July 1959; a copy can also be obtained by writing us or Mr. M.M. Thomas, c/o Christian Institute for the Study of Religion and Society, Post Box No. 57, 19, Miller Road, Bangalore 1, India).

One of the main addresses at the EACC Assembly was delivered by Mr. M.M. Thomas on "A Christian Interpretation of Nationalism in Asia", which is reproduced here in a slightly shortened form. Mr. Thomas is well-known to students of Christian social ethics through his many writings and his work as associate director of the Christian Institute for the Study of Religion and Society in India. He has been World Council of Churches' staff consultant for the rapid social change study in Asia, and he has recently become secretary of the newly established Committee on Religion and Society of the East Asia Christian Conference.

Dr. Verne Bailey who reports on the problem of hunger in Central Java is a young doctor from Australia who has worked on nutrition surveys for the Indonesia government for the last five years. Dr. Bailey is a Christian layman who volunteered for work in Indonesia through the Australian Universities programme of graduate service in Asian countries.

In April 1959 the Government of India (Ministry of Food and Agriculture and Ministry of Community Development and Cooperation) issued a 254 page report produced by a team of experts on "India's food crisis and steps to meet it". The team of thirteen, eleven of whom were connected with U.S. Government and U.S. universities, assisted by eleven Indian associates, worked in India about ten weeks from late January to early April, 1959. This summary is made by Ir. Raymond Dudley, formerly an American Board missionary to India and now on the Geneva staff of the W.C.C. in the Division of Interchurch-Aid and Service to Refugees.

Since 1958 the Philippines Federation of Christian Churches has been holding a series of study conferences on Christian responsibility in a rapidly changing society. In one of their recent meetings Dr. Fidel P. Galang, then a Methodist District Superintendent, presented a paper on the HUK Movement and its significance to the Christian social thinking. Dr. Galang studied at the Boston University School of Theology and holds a Ph.D. degree in Christian Social Ethics. At present he is engaged in translation of the Bible into several vernaculars in the Philippines.

Mr. Reg Trueman, a priest of the Anglican Church in Hong Kong, reports briefly but vividly on some aspects of life there.

Prof. Keiichiro Shimada is on the theological faculty of Doshisha University, Kyoto, and participant in the Rapid Social Change Study in Japan which was undertaken jointly by the Social Problems Committee of the National Christian Council and the Institute for Evangelism Studies of the United Church of Christ (Kyodan). He was one of the special consultants at the E.A.C.C. Assembly at Kuala Lumpur, Malaya, 1959.

A CHRISTIAN INTERPRETATION OF NATIONALISM IN ASIA

By M.M. Thomas

WHAT IS ASIAN NATIONALISM?

What does nationalism mean today to Asian countries? In the earlier days, that is, before the war and soon after the war perhaps, nationalism in Asia meant national struggle for freedom - freedom from Western domination. But today nationalism means not primarily a fight against what we call imperialism or any other enemy outside, but the struggle for nation-building. With the attainment of national independence we are called to give positive content to what we mean by the nation. This is basic to nationalism in the present context of Asia, especially for the newly-independent countries. Let me briefly define what nation-building involves.

Political Aspect.

First, it involves building new political structures. With the acceptance of the idea of the welfare state many new problems are added. In general, at the political levels, Asian nationalism has three goals - consolidation of national unity, promotion of political democracy and planning of economic progress. Order, freedom and progress - it is rather difficult to work for them all at the same time, for there is a great deal of tension between them.

National unity is jeopardised by communalism, i.e. the political self-cons-ciousness of separate groups. Traditionally, people lived in small communities, and the idea of the nation is something new. Therefore national self-consciousness tends to be jeopardised by communal self-consciousness freely expressed.

Equally, the relation between freedom and development raises acute problems. Development requires rapid changes in social structure and traditional attitudes and demands sacrifices. And it is slower to get the consent of the people for these and other requirements of progress.

Therefore we find in Asia, nationalism associated with three types of governments - parliamentary democracy, authoritarian or military rule, and Communism. Basically nation-making in all these situations faces the problem of relating democratic freedoms, national unity and stability, and rapid economic and social development with one another. And when adult franchise and parliamentary institutions make the problems of unity and development too acute, democracy breaks down. Even where parliamentary democracy is the form of government, it exists under great strain. Called to choose between national unity and democracy or between economic development and democracy, the choice will be for unity and development.

In all these three national situations, the problems of nationalism are basically the same viz. how to build new political structures which will build nationhood and national unity, preserve or promote democratic institutions and political freedom and plan for ordered development.

Economic Aspect.

Secondly, in the economic order, Asia is keen on rapid industrialization. This means national planning for the eradication of poverty. Poverty has existed from time immemorial. What is new is that people are now discontented and know that it is no divinely ordained fate. And when we speak of nationalism

we refer to this struggle of the Asian nations to build new economic structures which will bring about greater production of goods and services and an equitable distribution of the same.

Socio-cultural Aspect.

Thirdly, both political development, with adult franchise and representative institutions, and economic progress involving industrialization and urbanization make their impact on traditional patterns of social living. Technoly, science and ideas of individuality shake the very foundations of static but stable societies and dethrone Custom from its Kingly sway. Improvements in transport and communications bring about mobility and break up the old social institutions.

The Finance Minister of Malaya, speaking at the Malayan Rapid Social Change Study Conference here in Kuala Lumpur a few days ago, said that the family as the primary unity of society is most affected by the impact, not only of industrialization and urbanization, but also of new social ideas especially of individual freedom and equality.

Take for instance the relation between man and woman. Women in all countries of Asia today are demanding a new status of equality with men in all things, - in marriage, divorce and remarriage, inheritance and adoption - and in many countries this is enacted in new legislations.

Again, the castes and classes who were hitherto suppressed having been awakened to their fundamental rights demand personal freedom and social equality. There is in truth a social revolution going on in Asia with the break-up of the old traditional patterns. People are searching for a new pattern of society. In India we call it the "socialistic pattern of society" though we have still to define it. If the joint-family breaks down, what is the new pattern of community? Today we use the phrase, "Community Development" to indicate a new idea of society, including the local neighbourhood, transcending religious, racial, ethnic, caste and other communal groups. What is the structure of the new family and community? On what social and spiritual values should they be built? Such questions of social reorganisation are basic in Asia today.

Role of Religion in Nation-building.

These struggles to build new political, economic and social structures and institutions is what I mean by nation-building which is the basic urge of nationalism in Asia today. But new structures require new foundations. Therefore we find in Asia a revolution in the cultural and religious aspects of living.

Religion and culture were very much related to the traditional society. Now when new ideals are revolutionising politics, economics and society, ancient religions are asking the question whether it is possible to re-interpret their dogmas and concepts to provide an adequate cultural and religious foundation for the new national goals. Today there is a genuine theological renewal in the ancient religions of Asia, a genuine attempt at understanding the revolution that is sweeping Asia and to reinterpret fundamentals of the ancient religions to provide the new basis for the new patterns of state, economic life and society.

This is a genuine religious renaissance. It goes along with a political exploitation of religion, a religious revival understood purely as an instrument

of politics. Therefore, you will find in the religious sphere, both a genuine religious renaissance with its attempt to discover a theology of society for our times and religion used as an instrument of power-politics resulting in communal parties of which we hear so much.

THE CHRISTIAN POINT OF VIEW.

Can we then talk about a Christian interpretation of nationalism? Many would ask the question: why should the Christian Church be concerned with this whole development? Is there a basis for such concern in the Gospel? After the morning lecture, I need not labour to give an answer. But a word in passing may be relevant.

In fact, if you look at the response of the Christian churches to this development of nationalism, we find three or four different ways of approach. Firstly, Christians may ask: How does it affect the Christian community and its interests? This is the communal approach, that is, an approach purely in terms of the exclusive interests of the Christian community. Secondly, Christians get worried about the Secularism that is growing and ask: How can we cooperate with all other religions to fight it? This may be called the approach from the point of view of universal religion. A great many politicians, especially people who are eager to fight Communism and Secularism, have this "religious" approach. Thirdly, there is the very prevalent pietistic attitude of withdrawing into a shell of retreat from the confusing and complex realities of politics and social change. This may be termed the "purely spiritual" or "purely individualistic" approach to nationalism. These, I submit, are false approaches.

Our Theological Basis.

Our starting point should be an understanding of the nature of the relation between the Gospel and the World. The New Testament speaks of the Risen Christ as the first fruit of the whole Creation. When the evangelists and the apostles write about the gospel of redemption, they seek to relate the gospel of Christ to the whole creation. Take, for example, the first chapter of St. John's Gospel. In a sense, you can say it is the Creation story of the first chapter of Genesis re-written in the light of the Risen Christ; Christ is the Word through whom this whole creation came into being. He is also the redeemer of this whole creation.

Or take St. Paul's letters. The 8th chapter of Romans speaks of the whole creation as groaning for the final redemption in Christ. Or Ephesians and Colossians where Christ is spoken of as the One through whom, for whom, and in whom "all things" have been created and recreated. And the Church looks forward to a consummation which involves the redemption of the whole world.

Bishop Newbigin writing in the Household of God, says:

> "God, according to the Bible is concerned with the redemption of the whole human race, and of the whole created world. The goal of His purpose is not a collection of individual spirits, abstracted one by one, from their involvement, in the world of matter and in the human community, and set in a new and purely spiritual relation to Himself. Such a thought is irreconciliable with the Biblical view of God, of man and of the world. The redemption with which He is concerned is both social and cosmic".

In the national movement, we have to deal with man's relation to things, man's relation to structures of social existence, man's relation to powers of

all sorts. And it is all these that have been taken up in the cosmic and social redemption which we proclaim in the Gospel.

WHAT IS GOD DOING?

The question we have to ask is: What is God doing in and through the national movement in Asia? Not how does it affect Christians or how can we fight secularism? Or any other similar question. For a Church which acknowledges the Lordship of Christ over the whole world and all history, it is necessary to discern Christ working in the world so that we may witness to what He is doing and be with Him as He acts.

When we ask what God is doing in the national movement, it immediately raises the prior question, what God has been doing for Asia through the Western impact; the national movement is in a sense a continuation of the Western impact. We might even say that it is the working out of a continuing Western impact. It is in this connection that Dr. Max Warren has raised the question of the "theology of Imperialism", or the Christian interpretation of Imperialism.

I do not like the use of the word Imperialism. We in Asia define Imperialism as "the exercise of arbitrary national power, in the interest of one's own nation and involving exploitation of another". That, of course, is not the definition which many friends in the West will accept. Therefore, I would rather speak of the Western connection, involving political domination and technical and cultural penetration. A proper understanding of what God has been doing in the last hundred years in Asia through the Western impact is necessary, if we want to develop a Christian interpretation of nationalism, which in turn is the Christian understanding of the modern history of Asia.

A CHINESE APPROACH.

I would like to start with a very important attempt on the part of the Chinese Church to understand the modern history of Asia. Bishop K. H. Ting's Christian Theism (in the "Chinese Christian Papers" collected by David M. Paton) is a very profound attempt to develop a Christian basis for understanding the Asian scene from a Christian theological angle. From it I want to pick out three main points. 1) The Gospel transcends all ideologies and systems of thought and life. After emphasising the importance of theological inquiry in China today the paper raises the question of the relation of the Christian revelation to the ideological struggles. Bishop Ting is thinking not primarily of the West/East struggle but the struggle in China itself between idealism and materialism. He says, we should refuse to answer the question whether Christianity is idealistic or materialistic. In history, this classification has only a limited validity.

2) There is an important reason why Christianity is not the product or image of any human system. The writer wants to emphasise the relevance of moral choices between different systems of life and thought. Of course, he makes his own choice very clear; he chooses socialism and rejects capitalism. He says:

> "The difference between a socialist social system and a capitalist social system is enormous. Our study during these years has helped to show us the superiority of socialism. We certainly ought not to think of the two systems as of equal value."

And further on: "We should welcome a social system that shows itself able to raise the level of moral life."

So the Gospel not only judges all systems but also provides a criterion to make political, social and economic choices. The criterion is involved in the question: Given the universal fact of sin, what system will check evil most and give room for the creative moral forces of human development and justice?

Bishop Ting on this basis chooses socialism. But he continues:

> "But the change of social system can only limit the power of sin, it cannot solve the problem of sin. Sin can only be healed by forgiveness, salvation and grace. It is not a matter of social progress. The two matters should not be confused".

In other words, there is a vital choice to be made in politics, economics and so on, based on our understanding, our evaluation, our judgment of what system limits and checks sin and its effects most and gives room to the creative moral forces; but it should not be considered on the same ultimate plane as the choice for or against Jesus Christ.

Of course, no man can live in another man's situation and make for others the political choices they are to make. Political choices are not just ideal choices made in the air, but made in relation to the concrete alternatives which are available. Bishop Ting therefore does not discuss the question Democracy versus One-Party-State, because it is a choice which in the present Chinese situation is not available for Christians and I think it would have been most unrealistic to talk about it.

But it is a real issue for me in India and, therefore, from the Indian situation I may in accordance with the same theological approach choose parliamentary democracy rather than totalitarianism. In this sense our political decisions will have a relative character, even if we have a common basic Christian concern in the political order.

3) Bishop Ting points out that both religion and atheism can become opiates, blinding men to the reality of God, man and the world. Religion may become pharisaism, and lead to self-righteousness; but religion may also be as realistic as the Cross of Christ. But atheism also can become opiate:

> "Belief in God sometimes becomes an opiate, that is true. But why cannot the refusal to believe in God also become an opiate? How many men have there been since the beginning of history who have drugged themselves by a denial of God's existence so that they sin without any qualms, avoid responsibility and stifle the reproaches of their conscience"?

There is an important point here, namely that the ultimate issue cannot be posed as the choice between religion and secularism; but rather it has to be posed as justification by works versus justification by faith. I believe that these three points of Bishop Ting are universally valid and can provide a framework for the Christian understanding of Asian nationalism today.

On this theological basis it is possible to criticise many of the other writings which are included among the "Chinese Christian papers". If we acknowledge the universality of sin and the transcendence of the Gospel, we cannot divide history into black and white periods. History cannot be interpreted as a period of hell followed by a period of heaven. We cannot, for instance, consider the epoch of Western Imperialism as hell and the following epoch of Asian nationalism as heaven. There is no justification for saying that Churches and Missions in the past have been totally agents of Western Imperialism, but

that for the first time under nationalism or Communism, the Church has become holy. There is no such divide between hell and heaven, unholy and holy periods in the history of the world or the Church. Wherever there has been a Church and Christ has been named, there has been an attempt to get involved in the world critically and responsibly in the name of Christ; and in this attempt no Church in any part of the world in any period of history has escaped a certain conformity with the world. History knows only more or less. Therefore, let us not absolutise between past and present in church history or past and present in political history. To do so would be to fall into a purely ideological interpretation of history of the Church, and of politics, which is precisely what we should avoid in our interpretation of Asian nationalism.

AN INDIAN PERSPECTIVE.

Allow me now to look at Asia's nationalism, especially from an Indian perspective. There have been two attempts at interpreting the British connection with India.

One is the interpretation of liberal nationalism of the early period of the Indian national movement. It is not a specifically Christian interpretation. I am thinking of the approach of Gokhale. He was a liberal nationalist and was considered by Mahatma Gandhi himself as his political guru and therefore in the nationalist tradition. In the prospectus of the Servants of India Society which Gokhale organised we find that "the members frankly accept the British connection as ordained in the inscrutable dispensation of Providence for India's good". This is an interpretation of British connection in terms of Divine Providence. Gokhale must have thought that impact of the West was really breaking up a static social structure, and building the basis for political unity, personal freedom and social development. In fact, the statement I have quoted reads almost like St. Paul in Romans 13, where he says that the Roman power is ordained of God for "your good". This was the conception of liberal nationalism.

Of course, it has to be recognised that Imperialism became more aggressive in due course, and in answer, nationalism under Tilak became much more militant and negative towards the Western values. Later, especially under the leadership of Gandhi and Nehru, nationalists once again acknowledged the positive role of the West in India in bringing dynamism to a static society and building a basis for social progress. But there was this difference, Gandhi recognised the "satanic" character of the imperial domination which made it impossible for India to reap the benefits of the Western connection. Thus, the later nationalism was conscious of the positive and negative aspects of the Western impact at once. They saw the significance of Western political ideals and social values. But they also saw that nationalism was necessary to save the creative values of the West introduced into India from being destroyed by the corruption of Western power. While the British power really produced the basis for political unity, democracy and social progress, it could not realise these goals because of the corruption of imperial power. And Indian nationalism and national freedom were necessary for the creative role of Western power to find its fulfilment. Thus Indian nationalism has saved the mission of the West in Asia. Therefore the history of Western connection and Indian nationalism is a continuous act of Divine Providence for the good of India, to use Gokhale's language.

Is there any truth in this particular approach? Divine Providence is a very difficult doctrine to deal with. Nations and peoples who have thought themselves to be tools of Providence, and have based their special mission in history on Divine Creation and Divine Call have become self-righteous and hence more ruthless than others. Therefore to relate Western power or nationalism to

Divine Providence has dangers.

But is that a reason for rejecting the doctrine of Providence and the attempt to interpret nationalism in terms of it? Political history has to be seen under the rule of God. Even the rebellion of men against God must be seen within the power of God to overrule. In the providence of God, one power or movement, creative in the beginning when it becomes too corrupt is judged by another tool of Providence which also becomes corrupt and therefore is under judgment. It is therefore not impossible to develop a Christian doctrine of Providence and to use it to interpret the history of modern Asia of Imperialism, nationalism, Communism, etc.

The real danger arises when the tool of God's Providence also claims to be the tool of God's Redemption. Therefore any Christian interpretation of political history in terms of Creation, and Judgment should be seen within the framework of the divine work of Redemption in the One Saviour Jesus Christ. What are the marks of a Christian idea of Providence? Theology and political science should help the Church to work out a Christian doctrine of Divine Providence.

A NINETEENTH CENTURY MISSIONARY POINT OF VIEW.

Secondly, there is another interpretation which can be found in India, especially in missionary history. Many of the early educational missionaries thought of the Western cultural impact on India as preparing the cultural soil of India for the Gospel. They hoped that the transformation of the Indian culture resulting from the impact would create an atmosphere in which the Gospel would be more easily heard and accepted. Historically it has been proved a false hope.

Today social values and political ideals of the West have been accepted and absorbed even by the ancient religions of Asia; and they have used them to defend themselves against Christianity. The hope of the early missionaries like Duff and Miller that the introduction of Western culture and science would prepare the way for people to accept Christ has been belied. In fact, the ancient gods and the new gods of materialism and rationalism use Western ideas and techniques to reinforce their militant opposition to Christ. That is what has happened.

The early missionaries did not have as full an understanding of the eschatological character of the Gospel as the Biblical theologians today have. And at a time when the idea of progress was the basic idea of history, it was natural that they thought that the culture of a "Christian West" would be an effective cultural preparation to lead India to Christ. Today with our new understanding of the "discontinuity" between any culture and the Gospel, we cannot easily use the idea of preparatis evangelica.

Still in another sense, are not the modern transformations in politics, society and culture of Asia a preparation for the Gospel? Is it not true to say that in the present situation, because of the impact of the West, because of the new values, because of the new goals of national development based on the concepts of man as person, society as community of persons, history as dynamic freedom, and movement as purpose, there is a widespread search for a Redeemer, a search in which the Person of Jesus Christ cannot be ignored? In other words, people are asking the question: who is the Christ?

Of course, many are also shouting that we need not look for a Christ from outside the world and history and they are offering schemes of self-redemption.

For that very reason, the issue between Christ and Antichrist has been made much more acute. Drawing the whole of Asia into a situation in which Jesus Christ cannot be ignored but has to be accepted or militantly opposed is a preparation for the Gospel.

I am not talking of Communism here. In every national movement and pattern of social change and in the cultural transformation of every country, people are led to a decision for or against Jesus Christ, because the situation raises fundamental questions of God, man and the world in more or less Christian terms. This does not mean that the people will accept the salvation of Christ. It may mean a greater militancy of the anti-Christian forces. But the national movement is beginning to ask questions which really should either end in Christ or lead to Antichrist.

I give one instance. Take the question of history. History, in the old sense, the cyclical concept of history, is now giving place to a view of history as dynamic movement towards a goal. This raises the question of the true purpose of history. Christ is the goal of history, but He may be rejected and people may accept other idolatrous goals offered by other pseudo-religions, like dogmatic secularism or communism or communalism; and since idols break, for the first time people are aware that historical failure is the tragedy of freedom and not fate. But is not this whole concept of history and the sense of tragic freedom which have been brought into the national movement a preparation for the Gospel? It is from that angle I would say that nationalism and nation-building are a divine preparation for the Gospel.

It is creating a situation in which Christian social thought and action and the preaching of the Gospel are integral to each other as raising the Question and giving the Answer. And therefore in the participation of the Church in the tasks of repatterning society and in nation-building the Church is really pushing the ultimate questions God is asking to people regarding the nature and destiny of man to a decisive answer. We cannot have a new vision of the Christian Mission in Asia without a Christian interpretation of Asian nationalism.

II

AGRICULTURAL CHANGE AND HUNGER IN JAVA

by K.V. Bailey, M.D.

(Nutrition Institute, Wonosari, Gunung Kidul, Jogjakarta)

Rapid social change is occurring in Indonesia today in an economic context whose foundations are crumbling. In Java, the world's most densely populated isle with over 55 million inhabitants, over 70% of the people are subsistence farmers. In each generation the population doubles, and there is no more land available for agriculture. Up till now the yields from irrigated rice fields have remained at a fairly constant level but the drier upland areas are producing steadily less. Maize and cassava predominate over rice as staple food. The overall picture shows subsistence farming less and less able to meet even the basic needs of the growing population. It is doubtful whether industrialisation can bridge the gap, in circumstances so unfavourable to rapid industrial development (lack of capital, lack of skilled technicians at all levels) and where there seems little prospect of growing purchasing power able to create a market for industrial products.

Java has been, traditionally, a rice-producing and rice-consuming island but this is now only a dream. In 1856 the rice consumption was 115 gr. per head per day; over the decades the figure has steadily declined to 95 gr., in 1956. For a large part of this period increased production has been achieved by the opening up of new forest lands; production has thus almost kept pace with increasing population. However, the limit has now been reached in many parts of Java. In Madura, for instance, there is simply no forest land left; and the only untilled land is deserted rocky exhausted soil. Much forest land not suitable for intensive cultivation has been exploited and exhausted and more and more is now becoming unproductive. These changes are reflected in the diets of the people. In Middle Java, with the greatest population density in the island, rice now contributes only 43% of the basic food intake; cassava 40% and maize 7.5%.

The writer was assigned to study medical and agricultural aspects of the food problem in the cassava areas of Central and East Java. Some 5 million inhabitants of the limestone hills along the south coast, and in the centre of Java and in Madura, subsist on diets consisting almost entirely of dried cassava for a large part of the year. Cassava containing a mere 1% protein, these people are accustomed to daily protein intakes as low as 10 gr. per head - compared with an estimate of 40 gr. per head for the whole of Indonesia, Indonesia being itself the lowest national protein consumer in the world. The people in these cassava areas are so poor that their daily expenditure on food (including the cost of home-grown cassava and vegetables) is only about 50 Indonesian cents per day - about one fifth of the food expenditure of peasants in rice areas, or of labourers in towns. The diet consists of about 400 gr. dried cassava, a few leaves and a teaspoonful of chiles and onion and salt. Once a week a fermented bean-cake supplies a little additional protein, and once a year the village has

a clean-up and a festival with rice and a little meat for all.

On casual inspection the people look healthy enough, though small, and sometimes very thin - especially the old men and women. But in longer perspective the consequences of serious under-nutrition are not lacking. The adult population is becoming steadily more diminutive, nutritional oedema ('hungeroedema') is more and more widespread, and the physical and mental development of children is markedly retarded. The last is the most disturbing.

And what is the trend? Two generations ago cassava was barely introduced in Indonesia. After the first world war it became the basic diet for adults in the present cassava areas. Since the second world war it has become the basic diet of the children also, and is even given to infants, in these areas. And in the less fertile rice areas, cassava has become of at least equal importance with rice as basic diet. The dryland areas originally planted with dryland rice. As fertility declined, maize was planted instead of rice. Finally the soil was too poor to give an adequate yield of maize, and the sturdy cassava, which grows in poor soils and tolerates wet or dry weather, became the staple crop. Many parts of Central and East Java are becoming 'minus areas' where this pattern of agricultural decline is repeating itself, coupled with overgrazing with cattle and goats, speeding up the erosion process.

To some extent the diets in these poor areas can be improved by dissemination of nutritional knowledge. Protein shortage is the primary concern. Animal protein - meat and eggs - is available but the poeple are invariably obliged to sell these products to the cities, where they fetch a relatively good price, as do the fruits they can grow in their gardens. Small supplements can be obtained by milking village goats, which can yield half a glass daily for some months. Most farmers have some goats or cattle. More promising are the protein-rich bean foods of various kinds which can be grown in these areas and consumed as meat-substitutes in much larger amounts if their food value is explained to the people. Instruction can be given to local government officers, health and agriculture field workers, information ministry officers and so on. But all these efforts can bring only limited results, because of the economic and agricultural poverty of these areas.

Of all the limitations, the agricultural is in the long run the most foreboding. Soil erosion in the limestone hill country is already far advanced. In the last 100 years the hills have been denuded of forest and now stand like gaunt rocky cemeteries, bare but for a few pockets of soil here and there, each pocket planted with a thin stick of cassava. It is difficult to see how there can be any soil left at all on the hill slopes by the end of the century. And even the intervening valleys only contain a thin layer of subsoil, fast being carried away by the torrents which swirl down from the upper slopes and across the plains in the rainy season. The rivers run underground through the porous limestone, carrying away the last precious soil residues.

Could a mighty industrial revolution save these areas? It is hard to imagine viable industries being set up in such backward areas. There is no electrification and no constantly-flowing rivers for hydroelectric purposes. Transport is difficult and expensive. Owing to the difficulties of terrain and erosion, there is no railway, and branch roads are often impassable for trucks and have

to be re-made after every wet season because of damage by rain. There are no natural mineral resources. Even the limestone, so readily available for manufacture of lime, is only exploited on a small scale because sites nearer the commercial centres have lower transport costs.

Meantime the population increase in these areas is 3% per annum - the highest in Java, owing to a high birth-rate (almost 5%) and a lower death rate because of the relative absence of malaria. In Gunung Kidul alone, with a population of half a million, there is an annual population increase of over 11,000. The government transmigration scheme is able to transfer about 1000 persons each year to selected sites in South Sumatra. Another 1000 or more migrate to these areas with government approval but at their own expense. And as many more find their way to other parts of Java, especially the cities, where they become labourers, betjak drivers and vagabonds. There are thousands more each year willing to transmigrate, but unable to do so at their own expense. Lack of funds, and of train and shipping space, severely limits the scope of government activities in this direction. A warning should also be sounded concerning the agricultural methods adopted in the new settlement sites: frequently the same errors have been committed as before, and the results will be the same again.

Population control is urgent and logical. There are of course many partial measures, such as raising of marriage age, voluntary limitation of family, etc. Birth control measures on a mass scale are the only ones likely to yield the necessary results. But the people mostly still believe that the larger the family, the greater the prosperity. Food surveys alone have repeatedly disproved this: the larger the family, the poorer their diet. And even when the large family is realised to be a burden, and the people are prepared to prevent conception from occurring when they are unable to feed another child adequately, how are they to prevent it? No efficient and at the same time cheap method of conception control has as yet been found satisfactory for mass campaigns in villages, working amongst illiterate populations.

Realistically, the chief aim must be to prevent further nutritional and agricultural deterioration. Besides increasing legume consumption, efforts should be made to ensure sufficient soil fertility to maintain a cereal crop (dryland rice or maize or sorghum) as basic diet for at least part of the year. Soil fertilisation and soil conservation are pre-requisites for such a programme. The necessary soil experts are lacking. The erosion process appears also to have gone beyond hope of repair. The forest, soil and water have been misused and consequently perhaps lost for ever. Death stalks over the land and the people.

In many other parts of Java the lessons learned from the Gunung Kidul story may still be applicable. More especially in the less populous isles, such as Timor, it is essential to take effective steps to conserve forest, land and water, before its wilful exploitation causes irreparable damage.

In such a context, it behoves Christians to study the situation in all its grim nutritional and agricultural aspects. Governments and people everywhere are so pre-occupied with the spectacular inflation that the need for long-range planning may be forgotten. Perhaps the Christian minority should speak as the conscience of the nation on the matter of population control. Is this the new

form in which Christ's healing ministry is to be carried on in Asian society today? In India, China and Japan some plans and some progress have been made. In Indonesia some Islamic groups have done more earnest and far-sighted thinking than the Church.

Tragedy may be inevitable in Gunung Kidul but it is the responsibility of Christians to take stock of the situation, its causes and remedy, and especially to help institute effective government action to prevent further misuse of resources. To face this situation and to act effectively in it will test fully the faith and vision of the younger churches in Asia.

* * * * * * * * *

III

INDIA'S FOOD CRISIS AND STEPS TO MEET IT

- A summary of the Report by the Agricultural Production Team sponsored by the Ford Foundation -

Students of India will welcome the wealth of specific information regarding the present status of India's food problem which is contained in this report, and will be impressed by the thoroughness with which the team has brought to bear scientific procedures upon many facets of the situation in a way which is in keeping with India's present development and attitudes. The report states:

"India is facing a crisis in food production. More specifically, it is a crisis in food-grain production because food grains comprise two thirds of the caloric intake of the average India. The crux of the problem is food enough for the rapidly increasing population."

GRAIN PRODUCTION VS. POPULATION INCREASE

It is convenient to bear in mind three Five Year Plans: the first ending in 1955-56 now completed; the second ending in 1960-61 now going on; and the third ending in 1965-66 now being projected.

"Five million persons per year were added during the First Five Year Plan, and seven million per year will have been added during the Second Plan period. Ten million per year probably will be added during the period of the Third Plan ending 1966. Although there is considerable emphasis on family planning in India, no appreciable slowing down of population growth may be expected during the Third Plan period."

"This means that food will have to be provided for 80 million more people by the end of the Third Plan. This explosive increase in population will raise the total from 360 million in 1951 to an estimated 480 million by 1966."

"The entire nation must be made aware of the impending food crisis and steps must be taken to meet it. Adequate supplies of food may indeed be

essential to survival of democracy, because freedom from hunger is a prerequisite to enjoyment of other freedoms. If elementary wants, such as food and clothing, are not satisfied, other freedoms may be sacrificed for the promise of food enough."

WHAT INDIA NEEDS

Starting from a base of 58 million tons of food grains in 1949-50 the First Plan set a target of 65.5 million tons by 1955-56 which was achieved. The second Five Year plan set a target of 80.5 million tons of food grains in 1960-61 of which perhaps only 60 percent will be achieved. The consumption in 1956-57 was 13.3 ounces of cereals and 2.4 ounces of pulses per person per day. The target which the team has set for 1965-66 is 15 ounces of cereals and 3 ounces of pulses or a total of 18 ounces of grain per person per day. The estimate works out as quoted below:

	Million tons	
Consumption requirements for cereals and pulses	88.0	
Seed, feed and wastage (12½ per cent of total production)	12.6	
Stock requirements and safety margin	9.4	110

"If food-grain production increases no faster than indicated by the present trend, the gap between supply and needs in 1965-66 will be about 28 million tons."

To arrive at a total production of 110 million tons by 1965-66 the rate of production increase must average 8.2 per cent per year for the next seven years. This rate compares with an annual average increase of 2.3 per cent from 1949-50 to 1958-59.

AN EMERGENCY PROGRAMME PROPOSED

In order to conserve foreign exchange, importation of food must be kept at a minimum except under special exchange programmes. In any event, no programme of imports could meet a need of this magnitude.

"It is clear to us that food production increases at the rate required to reach a 110-million-ton target cannot be realised unless an all-out emergency programme is undertaken, and adequate resources are made available. This means that agricultural development must be given the highest priority among all the categories of development for the remainder of the Second Five Year Plan and for the entire Third Plan period."

This insistence upon priority for food development stands over against the urge for industrialization that is very common in many countries. Repeatedly throughout the report stress is put upon the necessity of giving priority to various individual parts of the programme that is being presented.

"Indian farmers have experienced wide fluctuations in food-grain prices during the independence period. These fluctuations have brought hardship both to producers and consumers" .... "To encourage increases in food-grain production, the cultivator should be assured of a price which will enable him to invest in fertilizer, seed and new equipment knowing that, with average crop conditions, he can repay any debts with the added income that results from adoption of improved practices. Such assurance

would constitute an important incentive to increased production."

Legislation is needed in various states to deal with fragmentation of small holdings of land into small uneconomic units. Furthermore, in places where there is doubt about the security of tenure of land, steps need to be taken as soon as possible to settle matters that are pending and enable owners to proceed with land improvements with confidence that they themselves will profit from the effort and the investment made.

MULTIPHASIC PROJECTS SUGGESTED

Since there is much waste of human resources through rural unemployment and under-employment, the team proposes a programme of public works that would provide work for those who need it and at the same time increase food production. Projects selected should require little capital expenditure and be such as can be carried out primarily with hand labour. They should require a minimum of scarce material and foreign exchange. They should involve only such skills and supervision as can readily be secured. Illustrations are contour bunding and terracing (including masonry work) which conserve water and prevent erosion.

Increase in food production depends upon convincing the farmers of the nation to adopt new practices. Extension programmes should focus more directly on local conditions. Village food production committees should be established This calls for competent instructors in extension education and for village leader training camps.

The team does not favour embarking on new and costly irrigation works. It is in favour of building small irrigation ponds, sinking tube wells and constructing masonry wells. Immense waste can be eliminated in conveying water from the source to the field. Study needs to be given to the amount of irrigation required at different seasons and to the way of applying it.

Excess water during monsoon rains hinders agriculture. It contributes to the problems of waterlogging, saline soils and alkali soils. Natural drainage is interfered with by roads, paths made by farmers, and irrigation canals.

"There are places in India where millions of acres could be reclaimed and made productive by surface drainage at less cost and in less time than by developing new irrigation projects."

Sometimes the problem is caused by seepage from canals. It is easier to provide drains prior to waterlogging than it is to deal with the salt and alkali problems after they have ariser. These problems are so serious and important that responsibility for coordination and improvement of drainage should be given to a single agency such as the Irrigation Department.

Proper tillage of the soil is important. Food production can be increased by using improved hand tools, better bullock-drawn implements and sometimes by mechanical power in the form of small tractors and power tillers. Preparation of seed beds can be improved. Seeds can be better placed in the soil and placed at the right time. Losses through delay in harvesting can be prevented. The burden of human effort can be reduced. Indian cultivators can use more complicated tools and machinery. Many are successful with power pumps and tractors. Bicycles are found in many villages. But the use of improved implements means the acquiring of new skills and a more thorough demonstration and training programme for the cultivators and for artisans who make and repair the equipment.

Fertility of the soil must be renewed. This can be accomplished only

hrough the proper use of large quantities of chemical fertilizer. This is so mportant that, if necessary, foreign exchange must be approved for purchase f fertilizer. Without this increase in fertility in wide areas of India the oal of 110 million tons of food grain cannot be attained by 1966.

Improved seed is important. This implies a vast system of plant breeding, xperiment, selection and multiplication into huge quantities, especially for ice and wheat. The same applies for other grains and for vegetables. There s a special section on producing hybrid maize seed. By using knowledge and tock now available in other countries, the progress which has taken 20 years n other parts of the world can be made in a brief period of years in India.

Plant diseases, insects and rodents are abundant and require timely and kilful attention. People need to be informed of the right methods to use, nd the material and the means for their application must be ready in the ight place at the right time. This requires education and careful organisa- tion of the supply line.

The team urges concentration on areas of India where radically increased roduction is readily possible. It also urges that, so far as may be possible, several improvements be brought to bear in the same place. Providing water, fertilizer, or improved seed, one at a time, will result in relative failure. All these and other factors must be present for genuine success.

India has 203 million cattle and buffaloes, one-fourth of the world's total. At least one-third and perhaps one-half of these may be regarded as surplus with reference to feed supply. If the food given to surplus cattle were used for the remainder, milk supply for India's people would be enormously increased. The team recognises that this is a question that must be left to Indian opinion to deal with. But apart from killing surplus animals, legislation can be passed regarding castration of bulls, steriliza- tion of cows, and restricted grazing. There is much also that can be done to improve stock.

The diet of most Indian people relies heavily on carbohydrates. It is difficult to change the habits of people with respect to their food. But there is much that can be done with fruit trees, gardens, poultry, etc. There is something to be done by way of teaching people in food preparation. As the demand for protective foods increases, their supply also will tend to increase. There are ways of preserving food that will both increase and improve diet.

COOPERATIVE SOCIETIES

Heavy reliance is placed upon the function of cooperative societies in expanding food production. Such societies provide a flexible democratic pro- cedure in which thousands of village people can be trained and used under a measure of government supervision to perform indispensable service of several kinds while learning to live and work together.

The most common function of cooperative societies is to break the strangle hold of the money lender and provide an effective but inexpensive agency whereby small amounts of money can be made available to cultivators without delay and at a reasonable rate of interest. This implies that the States and the Central Government through expanded banking facilities will provide large sums of money which will be used locally in many small loans through the societies. The security for the loans should increasingly

be the prospective value of the crops to produce which the farmer takes the loan, rather than merely the value of his land or other property.

Cooperatives may also serve as the agency which the government uses to supply the farmer with the things he needs to produce the crop, such as machinery and tools, improved seeds, fertilizer, and insecticides. They may also aid the farmer in marketing his crops in such a way that he gets a better price by holding a portion of the crop for sale many months after the harvest season, when, under present village conditions, the price is very low. All this implies a progressive educational process in which the secretaries of the societies learn to keep accounts and in which all concerned realise the basic importance of integrity.

EMPHASIS ON RESEARCH

The report lays great emphasis upon research. In an enterprise of such magnitude, involving so many millions of people and such large quantities of money and supplies, it is important to adopt the best means to reach the goal in view. This involves planning on a large scale with a clear purpose. It also involves a considerable expenditure of money for which there is no immediate tangible return.

The team believes that experimental programmes should be carried out to test the directions in which India's food production changes should move: What is the realistic food production potential of villages under best conditions? What is the value of trained farm management in aiding farmers to improve food production? What is the effectiveness of an enlarged use of mass media and visual aids in efforts to grow more food? Suggestions are made in some detail as to how experiments along these three lines should be organised.

Nearly every chapter calls for securing or training specialized personnel. This means in many cases securing graduates from agricultural colleges and giving them specialized training in various skills and disciplines. It means finding and training many thousands of men and women and motivating them to work with people at the village level. Detailed advice on this most important aspect of the problem is given at many points.

GOVERNMENT'S RESPONSE TO THE REPORT

The following paragraphs are quoted from the Times of India, September 19, 1959, to indicate the favourable reception which the report of the team is receiving in government circles:

> New Delhi, September 18: A high-powered committee, appointed by the Government of India to process the recommendations of the Ford Foundation team on food production, is understood to have accepted a majority of the technical suggestions made by American experts.
>
> In consultation with the States, most of these proposals have already been incorporated in the reports of the various Third Plan working groups concerned with agriculture and allied subjects. Concrete schemes are being worked out in various fields.
>
> The committee has also approved the team's recommendations with regard to the initiation of experimental projects for increasing food production, certain evaluation programmes, establishment of seed-testing laboratories with a view to improving the purity of the seeds.

Decision on two important recommendations of the team will not be possible for some time, it is explained. These concern large-scale rural credit through cooperatives and the stabilisation of farm prices. A committee, under the chairmanship of Mr. V.L. Mehta, is investigating the question of credit, while the issue of food prices will have to await a decision by the Government on the exact shape and form of State trading to be adopted in respect of food.

COMMENTS BY THE REVIEWER

Little is said in this report about the cost of the programme that is recommended or the ways of meeting it. Presumably this was not part of the assignment to this team. One can sympathize with the officers of the Government of India as they receive this report and seek ways and means of implementing it. The success of the programme will depend upon the answers to three questions:

Will the Government of India give to food production the priority that the team urges?

Can enough dedicated men and women be found or developed to carry an enterprise of such magnitude through with enthusiasm and efficiency?

Will governments of more wealthy nations, foundations and commercial concerns progressively help India to train personnel and finance the improved operation?

It would be a wonderful thing for India and for the world if a country of 480 million people could in so short a time raise its standard of living so sharply by democratic means. The team believes it can be done.

R.A.D.

IV

THE HUK MOVEMENT IN THE PHILIPPINES: ITS SIGNIFICANCE FOR GRASS-ROOT CHRISTIANITY

By Dr. Fidel P. Galang

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

Note: Huk is a contraction of the word hukbo, which means army. A Huk is a guerilla belonging to the Hukbalahap, which in full is Hukbo ng Bayan laban sa Hapon (or People's Anti-Japanese Army). The Hukbalahap came into being during the Japanese occupation of the Philippines. It was an underground resistance movement against the Japanese Imperial Forces and the Japanese occupation government.

The Huk Movement started in the province of Pampanga of Central Luzon. The initiators were peasant leaders during the pre-war years. To indicate the position of the social consciousness of the organizers: two-fifths were middle-of-the-road democrats, two-fifths were socialists, and one-fifth were new converts to communism. All these leaders had a common burning passion - to resist the foreign invaders and their Filipino puppets. In addition, the democrats were inspired by nationalistic feelings, the socialists wanted changes in the economic and political set-up, and the communists wanted to take control of the state.

The movement grew to be the strongest resistance movement in the entire country due to (1) excellent organisation, (2) ample firearms and ammunitions, (3) adequate mass base.

THE HUK MOVEMENT AS IT WAS

1) The organisation had four departments: (a) the military department that had supervision of the fighting units, called "Squadrons"; (b) the finance department that had charge of procurement of supplies; (c) the organisation department that had charge of the civilian government in the areas under control; and (d) the educational department that had charge of instruction and information. Discipline was characteristic of the whole organisation.

2) Where did the Huks get their thousands of arms and ammunitions? These were the sources: (a) Teams made several trips to Bataan to gather arms and ammunitions left and hidden by our soldiers. (b) Gathered them from civilians who had licensed firearms before the war. (c) The greatest source was the enemy, from whom the Huks got them by surprise attacks, ambuscades, and through Filipino puppets.

3) The Huk Movement was above all a movement of the peasants. With a few exceptions the leaders were from them. The rank and file of the Huks were rural folks. They cultivated the sympathy and friendship of the people. In every place where they had control of the situation they organised a local government, thus developing local leaders and their responsible participation. For the first time in their lives the rural people were participating in their own government.

As the movement grew in power and prestige there also developed within the organisation a marked struggle for power. The communists, though few in number both in the leadership and among the rank and file, were very aggressive and clever. They were in every phase of the movement and they tried to grab key positions. However, the non-communists were many and influential among the fighting units and among the rural people. Their weakness was that they were not united like the communists; sometimes they even weakened one another's influence by petty jealousies.

OPPORTUNITY LOST

A most tragic thing happened with this struggle for power within the Hukbalahap at the time of liberation. The U.S. Liberation Forces and Commonwealth government jointly branded the Huk Movement communist. This nasty wholesale condemnation resulted in an irromediable deterioration of the otherwise extremely promising movement. (1) Most of the non-communist leaders left the organisation as fast as they could. Why? Because they would not be branded communist. (2) The non-communist leaders who chose to stay became disillusionod with democracy. Though most of them did not turn communist, yet they threw their lot with the communists. (3) The great majority of the enlisted men, who were too simple to understand what communism stood for, or any other "ism" for that matter, were thrown intact with all their guns into the lap of the communist leaders. This mistake has caused the Philippine and U.S. governments a lot of trouble, and is still a big problem of the Philippine Republic today.

PRESENT STATUS OF THE MOVEMENT

The armed resistance aspect of the movement has been reduced to insignificance. How many armed Huks are still roaming around in Central Luzon? The exact number nobody knows, not even the Armed Forces of the Philippines. But they are very few and demoralised. Is then the Huk Movement dead? Is there no longer a place for it in the Philippines today?

The answer cannot be either a simple yes or a definite no.

For one thing communists in Asia are too close to us for our complacency or optimism. Local communist leaders are well informed of the progress of their party in many countries in Asia, and they believe that their setback in the Philippines is just a temporary incident.

More importantly, the masses that supported the Huk Movement during the war are not yet being given their due today. Politically, they had more participation in the Huk-sponsored government than in the present government of the Philippine Republic. Present government is too much centralised, so that on the barrio and township levels citizens have hardly any political participation. The landlords and the business men, who are a very small minority, are once again holding the power in their hands. Economically, it is the same old, sad story, if it has not deteriorated from bad to worse. The land tenure system has been left untouched. Ten per cent of the people in Pampanga, for example, own ninety per cent of the land. Population is growing by leaps and bounds. Unemployment is increasing. Prices of commodities are rising almost every day. The administration of the government since liberation and independenco has very little to commend itself to the common tao.

While during the war years the peasants were organised and had a taste of political and social power, today they have no organisation and they are left leaderless and bewildered. For a while they were charmed by the late President

Ramon Magsaysay, who died before they became disappointed with him. Thus far they have been indifferent to the Federation of Free Farmers, a peasant organisation sponsored by the Roman Catholic Church. No independent and responsible union leader has yet come to organise the peasants to enable them to gain power and have opportunity to use it democratically and responsibly to improve their lot, their community, and their country.

The effects of industrialization are steadily reaching the rural communities and the rural areas. As a result new desires are generated among these people. Old modes and standards are being shattered. Chaos and confusion are being experienced. Who will help them help themselves adjust to the emerging new situation?

CHRISTIAN POTENTIAL IN HUK MOVEMENT

There were many Christian Huks. I was one of them. In one town in Pampanga, there were many Methodists and at the same time a strong Huk Movement. Preaching of the Gospel by all Bible-using Christians has contributed to the social consciousness of the peasants. You cannot preach ideas like the dignity of man and that all people are brothers under God without arousing ideas in the minds of these peasants.

Among the Methodists who joined the movement some forgot their Christianity and acted like the aggressive Huks. But I know of many who carried their Christianity into the movement. Within the organisation there was toleration of religion. There were discussions and they convinced Huks.

After the war the people flocked to my preaching in the barrio. Before the war they would not listen to me because I was a "protestante". But when I came to the barrios after the war, they said: "Is this not the guerilla leader during the occupation?" Because of the Christian witness made during the war, the people would now listen to me.

BREAKDOWN OF HUK MOVEMENT

After liberation there were many liquidations. Those of us who saw this tried to move away from the movement as quickly as possible. This left the movement in the hands of the trained communists. Before the liberation there was a struggle for power within the movement between the non-Communists and the trained Communists. At liberation I was put up as the military governor of Pampanga. Non-Communists were recognised by the movement. But the occupation government would not recognise our government and instead they put up in San Fernando a former Japanese collaborator. I left my position and the Communists put up a die-hard Communist.

The peasants were sympathetic to the movement because they had a chance to participate on the local level. As it is now, the peasants don't feel that the barrio government is their own. This is the trouble.

Nowadays, what really happens in the rural areas after an election? After they are elected, they have a big dance and a lechon party. After that no more. People pay taxes and get nothing from it. And do they vote intelligently? At election they are told to vote for this person or else you will be taken out. Those who have little holdings are told they will become an ordinary farmer.

During the HUK times the peasants really participated. The Huks came to the barrios and said we will get 15% of your produce for ourselves and 85% will belong to you who raised the crop.

THE CHURCHES AND THE MASSES TODAY

The Roman Catholic Church has a two-point programme: (1) Cultivation of the devotional life of its members by means of regular church attendance, going to confession, and taking part in the mammoth processions in honour of the "Virgen de los Remedios", (2) organising its able-bodied men and women into the Federation of Free Farmers (for the peasants) and into the Federation of Free Workers (for the labourers). How far this programme will succeed will be seriously conditioned by the Church's shortage of priests, its official social reconstruction theory, and its record of almost four hundred years in the Philippines.

What about the non-Romanist Churches? The "Iglesia ni Cristo", under the leadership of "Bishop" Felix Manalo, is reputedly the largest non-Romanist group in Central Luzon. Most of its members come from the poorer class. Once converted to the faith, they seem to become hardworking people and learn the practice of Christian stewardship. Their Church is well supported. They have a closely-knit organisation, and in a sense their church-membership may be considered a membership in a peasant union. Politically, this Church is a power courted by every politician. In their public religious meetings they are given every protection by the government.

The Methodist Church is next in point of size in the same region. Most of the members are also from the peasant class, although there are a goodly number from the emerging middle class. After some years of membership in the Church, it has been observed that most of the converts develop middle class ambitions. They become "Fil-Americans", many of whom become respectable and influential citizens in the community, while those of them who are interested in politics, labour and peasant unions usually become inactive church members. Methodists as a group do not take any active part in political action, so they are often ignored by politicians.

Other churches in the region, like the United Church of Christ in the Philippines, the Philippine Independent Church, and other small sects, are too small and too preoccupied with keeping themselves alive that they hardly have time and resources to attend to the aspect of life of people under discussion in this paper.

WHAT MUST WE DO NOW?

Evangelical Christians must discover two important facts of the Christian faith, if they are to fulfil their mission as a Church of the Living God to the world around them. Firstly, they must discover the vital relationship of worship and Christian nurture to the daily activities of individuals, families, and communities. Secondly, they must discover the significance of the dispersed or scattered (diaspora) Church (people of God) in order for them to understand that they have a ministry to fulfil in the workaday world. No, this is not just a "social implication of the Gospel". It is a vital part of our high calling, of our Christian vocation. Worshipping and witnessing mutually imply each other.

Speaking more concretely, Christians must more actively participate in political action. One may begin with a laymen's organisation within the Church to have among themselves group discussions to lift up the vital issues as Christians. When people in the Church are helped to see what the issues are, we may reasonably hope that our elections will become more intelligent.

The churches must develop more realistic programmes, recognising that the strength of the Church is in the rural places. They need to know how to cooperate with other organisations in the community in helping the people. The local congregations who are ever present in the community and the pastor who lives right in the barrio must go out to meet people's needs. These rural churches can very well be pilot projects for the rest of the country.

We Christians must squarely face the muddled political situation in the Philippines. Communism is a well-defined movement and it will get into any place where it can get a foothold whether there is poverty or not. Communism actually was called into being by a concern for industrialized society. It is not always poverty that occasions its call to action.

The Huks attempted to do a prophetic mission. But they are not the prophets of the living God. After the war I went to the States to take my training in social dynamics and social ethics. I asked the leaders of my church to send me back to the rural area. But neither the Bishop nor the Conference supported me. How long will the Church hesitate in the face of the challenge of these days?

V

ETHICAL PROBLEMS IN THE COLONIAL POSSESSION OF HONG KONG

By R. Trueman

The British have a legal right to occupy Hong Kong's New Territories for another 38 years, and to occupy Kowloon and Hong Kong Island itself in perpetuity -- but they have no moral right to stay on in Hong Kong at all. So I said to a group of Chinese clergy a little while ago. And what do they think? It is an existential question for them. Whatever the legal, or the moral position from the point of view of the imperialist, they know they want the British to stay. Of course, they are prepared to criticize the Government of Hong Kong, to argue in favour of greater Chinese representation in the councils of the Government; but most of all they want the British to stay. And those clergy spoke not only for the 5 or 10 per cent Christian minority of Hong Kong, but for the overwhelming majority of the people. After all, if you really want to live under a Communist government, you only need to get on the train at the Kowloon terminus. The authorities on both sides of the border will be only too glad to see you go northwards. Too many thousands want to come south; and they are an embarrassment, in different senses of the word, to the British and to the Chinese governments.

To ask whether a colonial government has a right to stay in a place when the natives want it to go is a familiar question; but this is the other way round. An American might offer to us British the excuse that there are two Chinas, and until we know which one to hand over to, we ought to wait and see. One of the clergy did in fact say that. But most people in Hong Kong no longer waste breath (and nervous energy) by always saying "Communist China". We say "China".

No doubt the British will stay in Hong Kong as long as they can: there are reasons of business, reasons of imperial defence (except for the lack of an Empire to defend) and reasons of face. But what should a Christian think and do? Should he agitate for the return of Hong Kong to China, knowing that its two and a half million Chinese don't want it?

Leaving that question unanswered, can we at least establish the principle that imperialist profits in a colonial territory should be taxed heavily enough to provide some basic social services for the exploited natives? Or -- if that sounds too socialistic -- that laws governing maximum hours of work and minimum rates of pay should be passed and enforced, with at least some kind of care for the unemployed and sick and destitute? But if you make conditions in Hong Kong appreciably better -- that is, if you widen the gap which already exists between living standards here and on the mainland, you are encouraging more people to come in. Even if you put thousands of troops on the border, they can still come in by sea. Fortunately the Chinese government is trying to deal with this for us. If we can't keep them out, they will make it hard and dangerous for anyone to try to escape. "Fortunately", did I say?

But a more basic problem is this: that Hong Kong's prosperity depends upon her sweated labour. It has no natural resources apart from its harbour: no agriculture, no coal, no iron. It has got cheap labour, and a reserve of

unemployed which will make all factory legislation ineffective. Hong Kong depends upon foreign investment; and why do the British, and the overseas Chines and many others invest in Hong Kong? It has no security, but it's worth it because of the profits -- money back in ten years, in five, say some. Tax the capitalist, and he'll go elsewhere. You can legislate for the Hong Kong labourer, by raising the taxes, or by laying down maximum hours of work and minimum rates of pay, only by running the risk of his having no work at all. That is true anywhere, as Britain may one day discover. But it is quite obviously true here. If the factory ceases to make money today, the labourer will be out of a job by tomorrow.

Perhaps the best you can do is just exhort the wealthy to relieve the distress all around them, to give to orphanages and T.B. clinics and the rest. But that only helps to keep alive those who might otherwise die, and Hong Kong has far too many people already. The excess of births over deaths in 1958 was 80.000. This year it will be more.

The tourists say Hong Kong is a wonderful place!

VI

THE CHURCH AND RAPID SOCIAL CHANGE - REPORT FROM JAPAN

By Prof. Keiichiro Shimada

Introduction

The characteristic of our time is "rapid social change". Not only the great advancement of science and culture in the world, but also the impact of conflict of the two ideological worlds in recent years have produced far-reaching transformations for large numbers of the world's people within a brief time. Our Asia, in its own way, is experiencing rapid changes, striving through waves of hope and fear, and our concern here is concentrated on East Asia.

Change is desirable for Asian countries to emerge from their long period of backwardness and to establish higher standards of living. But rapid social progress in the underdeveloped areas, always requires to utilize the system of power to some extend, and the quality of power often possesses a great potency in shaping the history of thought.

We have experienced two ways of social reconstruction in Asia. On the one hand, we have the capitalistic way of development such as shown in Japan, on the other hand, we know the recent experiments of socialism in some Asian countries. The power structure in backward countries is quite different from that in advanced nations, where the new element of power carried by some new social class demolished the old power structure in a gradual and steady advance. In younger nations, however, where rapid strides in establishing the state authority are unavoidable to promote the stabilization of economy, power is apt to circumscribe or suppress the freedom of thinking either in the capitalistic or socialistic way of social progress. The way of thinking will be restrained by the urgent necessity of social control and its power influence will curb the freedom of people's actions.

It is a human tragedy that people who are eager for emancipation from poverty tend to take a shortcut to a better standard of living, at the sacrifice of liberty in thinking and action.

Such an intellectual climate in Asian countries is a great hindrance to our Christian evangelism which requires an atmosphere of free decision of the individual personality. The relation between power structure and evangelism, therefore, is one of the points demanding consideration.

General Background

Japan is reckoned as a middle-advanced country. But her quick development in less than one century has compelled Japanese people to keep some feudalistic elements in the core of their modern social life, and these elements are still hampering the spread of Christianity there.

I do not believe that other Asian countries will go on the same way we have followed, but I think the story of our struggle in Japan will be of information to friends from these countries.

It was only ninety years ago that Japan appeared on the stage of world capitalistic economy. To overcome the shortage of capital accumulation needed for rapid growth of her economy, she was compelled to resort to the backward measure of reviving a type of feudalistic despotism, to suppression of labourers and farmers. The rate of capital accumulation in the hands of capitalists has been very high compared with the relatively small capacity of economy in Japan. In general, in backward countries, the level of income is low and, in addition, income inequality is more conspicious than in advanced countries, and this situation in backward countries is maintained, in most cases, by the aid of power structure.

Economic Plight of the Masses

In Japan, one tenth of the whole population (92,000,000) belongs to the so-called "border-area" in addition to two million recipients of social assistanc In spite of the rapid approach to the goal of social security, equalization of income by progressive income tax and redistribution through social security is far from overcoming the social tension in present day Japan. This is why the Japanese labour movement has become so radical and political.

We can point out the following characteristics of economically underprivileg households in Japan:

a) the percentage of aged people is high (the old age pension was establishe only recently),

b) households consisting of a mother and a child or children are found in considerable numbers (demonstrating the need for a system of maternal and child welfare pensions),

c) 60 percent of the recipients of social assistance are in receipt of assistance because of illness and tuberculosis is the most damaging and widespread cause of poverty for this group (A "Health Insurance for All" movement is now under way, but countermeasures to tuberculosis are still insufficient),

d) poverty is especially prevalent among unskilled labourers (indicating that vocational training is a burning question, together with the improve ment of the economic structure).

Industrial Structure of Japan

The problem of poverty is closely connected with the economic situation of medium and small-scale enterprises in Japan. As has already been stated, accumulated capital could cover only partially the demand of large enterprises; and medium and small enterprises have been able to continue to exist over a wide range of industries, hand in hand with large enterprises as their subcontract plants. Percentage of medium and small enterprises with less than 200 employees is 99.49 percent of all Japanese factories. Although in 1951 68 percent of all

industrial labourers worked in these factories, their output was only 44.7 percent of the total production for 1951.

Minor industry, always harrassed by the shortage of operating funds, the lack of knowledge of scientific management, and the instability of the market is led into the subordinate position of being dominated and exploited by large enterprises. The wage-level of labourers in minor industry is only about 60 percent of the level of wages for workers in large-scale industry.

Recently, a movement known as of the League of Minor Industries has become very active in the direction of mutual aid and political activity.

"The Christian Guide for Social Action"* drawn up by the United Church of Christ in Japan insisted that "The responsibility of the state for economic welfare is daily increasing. The state, without any class bias, as the protector of social justice in economic life, must strive for welfare through stabilized production and just distribution. Through the overcoming of unemployment, low wages, bad working conditions, etc., it must promote the achievement of a comprehensive system of social security which will safeguard the life of the people". The committee on Social Problems in our United Church is recommending that Christians should be active in promoting (1) positive aid to strengthen the economic environment of these minor industries, (2) settlement work especially planned for the welfare of minor industry workers, (3) church-sponsored adult education both for these workers and for their employers, (4) active participation in social welfare activities and in social action to improve their situation.

Rural Problem and Effects of Land Reform

Another field which is worthy of notice is the problem of farmers in Japan. At the beginning of the Meiji Era which was the dawn of the capitalistic period in Japan, the agricultural economy became the main source of capital accumulation for new industry, land taxes and farm rents were so high that, as might have been expected, opportunities for capital accumulation on the part of the farmers themselves did not arise for a long time. The significance of the land reform in Japan after the war is unforgettable. The area farmed by tenant farmers, which accounted for 46 percent of the arable land before the war, has been reduced to only 10 percent now. After the emancipation of farmers from the burden of farm rent, their management has improved to some extent, but the new family system which requires the equal division of property among the heirs to an estate has brought about a shrinkage of the size of farming units. Progressive implementation of rational methods of scientific management in agriculture is making it increasingly difficult for second and third sons to maintain their positions in small farm management.

"The Christian's Guide" of our United Church says, "Farmers, who by means of excessive toil supply the basic need of society, as persons handicapped economically are placed in circumstances where they must put up with an unfavourable social status. The state must formulate a radically new policy for the sake of the renovation of agriculture as a backward industry. We must rightly evaluate the social significance of the cooperative movement and strive to strengthen its development in order to protect the life of worker and farmer".

The history of rural evangelism is a very difficult one in Japan, where Christianity has spread mainly in urban society and the feudalistic ways of thinking in rural areas have been obstacles to progressive Christian thought. The state of affairs, however, is improving recently in rural society, and we find a number of Christian leaders are working to promote the agricultural co-operative movement and rural social work which are recognized as indispensable elements to pioneer the new active stage of rural evangelism.

Over-Population

The population problem is one of the great obstacles on the road to the solution of the economic and social problems in Japan, just as it is in other Asian countries. The population in 1872 was 34,800,000. By 1956 it had exceeded 90 million. The population density in 1872 was 91 per square kilometer, but it had increased to 242 by 1956. The density has been doubled in the last fifty years.

The population problem will be solved only by increased production of food and an increase in the number of opportunities for employment.

We are not in the grave situation of having to fear that population growth will outstrip the increase of productivity. The tendency of rapid population growth has shown a slight decline of late because of the diffusion of birth control among the people. It was reported that the percentage of practice of contraception among people was 29.1 percent in 1950 and 52.5 percent in 1955. I regret, however, to have to say that the decline is partly attributable to the performance of a high proportion of legal or illegal abortions. This situation is one which paralyzes the Japanese sense of the sanctity of human life. While as Christians we advocate changing the present Eugenics Protection Law which allows abortions on such a huge scale, we insist on the necessity of providing facilities for birth control and for the dissemination of knowledge concerning it.

Though the menace of terrible population growth has been a little mitigated Japan is still experiencing a net increase in population of about one million every year. And now, since the Pacific War in which Japan lost 46 percent of her territory, our people have been tormented continually by difficulties at every stage of life from the cradle to the grave. I might mention the housing shortage, resulting from war destruction and population increase, intense competition for school entrance and employment, etc. While over-population has cultivated a good habit of "diligence", it is regarded as one important factor contributing to more than 1,500,000 of the crimes, and to more than 30,000 of the suicides which occurred in 1957. Population pressure may have some relation to the recent marked increase in juvenile delinquency and to the existence of 1,300,000 mentally disordered people in 1957.

While making every effort toward economic development ourselves, we must appeal to the understanding cooperation of our brothers throughout the world with regard to matters of resources, international trade and immigration.

Issue of Capital Formation in Economic Development

Greater capital accumulation is necessary to expand the number of opportunities for employment. Concerning the method of capital accumulation and investment, we cannot help insisting upon the necessity of stressing the idea of "socialization" in the advanced degree.

Inequality of income distribution is one of the objective causes of social tension, as said above. In Japan, such income as that from private rent, interests, and dividends, as a rule, is concentrated among the comparatively higher social classes. The proportion represented by such income among the distributive national income as a whole has been enhanced in the past several years (3.5 percent in 1952, 5.0 percent in 1954, 5.7 percent in 1956). This trend signifies a widening of the gap in income inequality among social classes. To make the matter worse, differences in wage bases characterizing the various scales of enterprises have become conspicuous as the result of the predominant position of great enterprises after the war, and thus on the whole, income inequality is becoming increasingly apparent in the nation. The political awakening of the people in recent years is strengthening the social pressure exerted by labour in the form of labour offensives and demonstrations.

When the policy of the conservative government granting favourable treatment to capitalists and large-scale enterprises is intensifying the social tension, are we Christians to idle away our time turning our backs upon the mass of the people, who under pressure of the human instinct to escape from the verge of starvation are denied the chance of a free and intelligent choice, and are driven into the arms of communism?

It is of great significance that the above mentioned "Social Guide" requires the renovation of the ethics of our economy and the self-control of capitalistic economy to establish economic justice, and that it denies the dictatorial position of capital in the future. The Social Guide tells us "Christians have an important responsibility for investigating the cause of the emergence of widespread unemployment and a low-income class in spite of industrial development, and for cooperating to advance an economic policy which does away with that cause. The Christian must not try so hastily to get rid of communism because of its atheistic ideology while neglecting the eradication of the root of the social illness which goes with that belief. This is a time of great social reformation when the Christian must have courage unintimidated by anyone".

Christian Social Action, a Beginning

The United Church of Christ has established a Special Committee on Social Problems to encourage the development of Christian social consciousness and there are many Christian leaders in the various parts of social front. But I must confess that most Christian denominations in Japan are not sufficiently positive in their social attitude, partly because of the character of theology and partly because of the social background of those churches themselves.

Evangelism in Japan has been able to succeed in the middle class, especially among intellectuals in the past. This is just the "intermediate" class, which does not belong either to the bourgeois or to the labouring class. When

people are splitting into two great classes, this middle class is in a very weak position and may succumb to the existing authority, without fulfilling its task to speak without hesitation from a free standpoint which can understand both sides. The social stratum occupied by most Japanese Christians is now confronting a crisis created by the pressure to become subservient to the interests of the capitalists.

We have to preserve our stand point of free utterance as a mediator. The conservative inclination comes from the propensity of Japanese evangelism to limit itself mainly to work among the weak middle class. The Christian standpoint of free utterance must be quite different from opportunism. We place great hope in the recent movement of industrial evangelism of the United Church of Japan, which is aiming to bring the hearts of the labourers to Christ.

Though we are following a thorny path, I believe this new movement will be able to change the atmosphere of our a-little-too-conservative churches. Is it saying too much to insist that without overcoming the present conservative climate in Japanese churches, they will not be able to take the lead in or to control to any extent the rapid social change of our present time?

---

* For the full text, see The Ecumenical Review, January, 1960